

F B I

Date: 3/30/68

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DECLASSIFIED BY 60290 BCC/dy/ls

ON 7-22-02 #42712/429113

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, MEMPHIS (157-1092) (P)

SUBJECT: SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE
RM

CLASS. & EXT. BY SP-4 J. J. J. 12/19/87
REASON - FCIM 11, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW 3/30/88
PER RELEASE ON SWS

Re Memphis airtel and LHM dated 3/29/68.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 11 copies, for WFO 3 copies, and for Atlanta 3 copies of LHM captioned as above and dated 3/30/68. Copies are being furnished to regional offices of military intelligence.

Information in LHM was furnished to WILLIAM BRAY, 111th INTC, 3rd Army, Memphis, and Lt. GEORGE FEATHERS, Inspectional Bureau, Memphis, Tenn., PD.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

- 3 - Bureau (Encs 11) (RM)
 - 3 - Atlanta (Encs 3) (RM) (Info)
 - (1-SCLC)(1-MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.)(1-Washington Spring Project)
 - 3 - WFO (Encs 3) (RM) (Info)
 - (1-SCLC)(1-MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.)(1-Washington Spring Project)
 - 12 - Memphis (1 - 157-1092)
 - (1 - 157-556)(Possible Racial Violence, Major Urban Areas)
 - (1 - 157-166)(Southern Christian Leadership Conference)
 - ① - 100-4105(MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.)
 - (1 - 157-1097)(Washington Spring Project)
 - (1 - 170-70 Sub)(ME 338-R Ghetto)(X)(u)
 - (1 - 100-4528)(CHARLES L. CABBAGE)
 - (1 - 100-4579)(CALVIN LEROY TAYLOR)
 - (1 - 157-1019)(CHARLES HARRINGTON)
- FOIA(b)7 - (D)
- WHL:mnr
(21) *mnr*
- (1 - 157-109)(SNCC)
 - (1 - 66-1687 Sub)(Dissemination File)

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Source 1 is [ME 338-R Ghetto] (S)(u)

Source 2 is

FOIA(b)7 - (D)

Commercial Appeal newspaper
(requested identity be protected)

Source 3 is

FOIA(b)7 - (D)

Eastern Airlines

Source 4 is

FOIA(b)7 - (D)

(S)(u)
characterization of
JAMES L. BEVEL)

LEADS:

ATLANTA AND WFO DIVISIONS (INFO)

Information copies are submitted in view of these offices' interest in MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., SCLC, and the Washington Spring Project.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Memphis, Tennessee
March 30, 1968

RE: SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE
RACIAL MATTERS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/9/81 BY SP-4 Jmp/abw
FOR REFERENCE
ON SWS

Reference communication captioned as above made at
Memphis, Tennessee, March 29, 1968.

On the morning of March 29, 1968, Henry Lux, Assistant Chief, Memphis, Tennessee, Police Department, advised that Rev. James Morris Lawson, Jr., male Negro, pastor of Centenary Methodist Church, Memphis, and one of the main leaders of the Community on the Move for Equality (COME), the Memphis Negro Ministerial Group leading the support of the sanitation workers, Memphis, Tennessee, who have been on strike since February 12, 1968, informed Lux that a downtown sympathy march for the strikers was planned for the afternoon of March 29, 1968.

Lawson stated that the march would be restricted to sanitation workers and adult sympathizers and that every effort would be made to eliminate the young element which created problems leading to window breaking, looting, and general vandalism which disrupted the massive march on March 28, 1968, led by Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).

Later on the afternoon of March 29, 1968, Henry Lux advised that the march did take place running from Clayborn Temple, 280 Hernando, to the vicinity of the Memphis City Hall on Main Street with approximately 200 individuals participating. There were no incidents. The Memphis Police Department and representatives of the Tennessee National Guard who are still on duty in Memphis as a precautionary measure, guarded the entire parade area, the marchers remaining on the sidewalks and observing all

11-Bureau 3-AT 3-WFO 1-USA, Memphis 1-U.S. Secret Service, Memphis
1-G-2 1-111th INTC, Nashville 1-111th INTC, Memphis 1-NISO, Charleston
1-NISO, Memphis 1-OSI, Maxwell AFB
11-Memphis (157-1092) (157-556) (157-166) (157-4105) (157-1097) (170-70 Sub)
(100-4528) (100-4579) (157-1019) (157-109)

WHL:mnr
(36)

FOIA(b)7 - (D)

100-4105-71

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traffic restrictions. There were no arrests and no incidents. Lux pointed out that no permit is required for marches of any kind within the city of Memphis and that the Memphis municipal authorities are considering the possibility of passing an ordinance of this type.

Also, on March 29, 1968, Chief of Police James C. MacDonald of Memphis advised that there have been no serious troubles during March 29, 1968. He had instructed all of his officers to disperse small groups of youngsters in various sections of the city and that there were still sporadic outbursts of window breaking, minor looting, general vandalism, and the setting of trash fires. One squad car was fired on by unknown Negroes in the vicinity of Dison and Rile in south Memphis early on the morning of March 28, 1968, according to MacDonald, but the individuals firing the shots were not identified. He stated that throughout the day the Memphis Police Department received numerous calls of reported looting, vandalism, and fire settings and fire bombings, although investigation by representatives of the Memphis Police Department and the Memphis Fire Department indicated that most of these incidents were minor. He pointed out that the major damage in connection with the March 28, 1968, disturbance was confined to a three to four block area on Beale Street in downtown Memphis with store fronts being damaged and practically all of a three block area. He stated that liquor stores are still closed, that National Guardsmen are guarding the stores which have been looted and where windows have been broken, that the merchants are boarding up the fronts of most of these establishments to preclude further vandalism and looting and he feels that with the presence of the Tennessee National Guard, along with the assistance of the Shelby County Sheriff's Office and his department, that the situation is well in hand and that, with the exception of sporadic outbursts of vandalism, he does not anticipate any immediate trouble in Memphis.

On the night of March 29, 1968, Assistant Chief Henry Lux advised that there were approximately 33 additional arrests on March 29, 1968, by the Memphis Police Department on charges including miscellaneous looting, disorderly conduct, resisting arrest, and threatened breach of peace. He

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reported that in City Court, Division II, more than 200 persons charged in the past two days appeared before City Judge BERNIE Weinman on charges ranging from drunkenness to assault on police officers. Judge Weinman bound 40 defendants over to the state, dismissed 46 others, and continued the cases against 118 until later in the month of April, 1968. The largest bond was \$5,000 set for Gordon L. Odom, Jr., of 336 South Parkway East on a charge of third degree burglary, this being set by City Judge Ray Churchill. Other bonds he set ranged from \$250 to \$2,000.

During the evening of March 29, 1968, the police received numerous calls of reported fire bombings, vandalism, and looting over a wide area primarily in the Negro neighborhoods but many of these proved to be unfounded on investigation. Lux advised that the curfew imposed by Mayor Henry Loeb on the night of March 28, 1968, continued on the night of March 29, 1968, but that it was a loose curfew in that any individual on the streets who had identifications would have nothing to worry about provided he could give a plausible explanation as to his purpose in being there. This meant that theatres, places of amusement, and restaurants and other functions normally operating at night would be uninterrupted. He stated that riot damage resulting from the March 28, 1968, window breaking and looting was estimated by insurance officials at approximately \$400,000 not including the miscellaneous fires. He pointed out fortunately none of the fires were serious. This would not, of course, include losses due to interrupted business days because many office managers, store owners, government agencies, including Federal, state and county, dismissed their employees early both on March 28 and 29, 1968, in order to avoid trouble. He stated that the Memphis city buses were operating throughout March 29, 1968, but would stop around 7:00 P.M. and that in the near future it was anticipated that they would be operating of a full-time basis.

Lux advised that Tennessee National Guardsmen are bivouacked at the National Guard Armory on Central near the Mid-South Fairgrounds and on the military side of the Memphis Metropolitan Airport. He stated that there are approximately 4,000 troops from the west and middle Tennessee National Guard units on duty in Memphis. He had no knowledge as to when they would be pulled out, but predicted that they

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would at least remain in Memphis over the week end of March 30-31, 1968.

He pointed out that school absenteeism in the city school system in Memphis on March 29, 1968, was nearly 40,000 and that the largest number of truants were at the predominantly Negro high schools.

Lux stated that the only injury reported during the day was to Memphis Police Patrolman E. W. MAXWELL, whose finger was severely cut while he was arresting a drunk young Negro who was fighting with other officers on Polk Street north of Chelsea, which is in a predominantly Negro neighborhood. He stated that at about 1:15 P.M., officers arrested two white youths, namely Samuel R. Waddell, age 20 of 2581 Kallien, Larry Williams, age 20 of 1669 Combs. He stated that he had been informed that officers seized a .22 caliber rifle in Williams living room. He did not have the details of the arrest. He stated many of those arrested for looting were youngsters ranging from 8 to 12 years of age. These were being turned over to Memphis Juvenile Court.

The Memphis Commercial Appeal newspaper, Saturday morning issue, March 30, 1968, reported in detail concerning activities of Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., on March 29, 1968, and stated in a story on page 1 by Reporter Thomas BeVier that King came to Memphis to star in what was billed as a "dress rehearsal" for his April 22, 1968, "Poor People's Crusade" on Washington, D. C. The story continued, "By his own non-violent standards, the rehearsal was a flop." The story stated that King in a press interview March 29, 1968, reported that he would be back in Memphis as early as April 3 and not later than April 5, 1968, for another mass march and was quoted as saying, "We are going to have a massive non-violent demonstration in Memphis." The story stated that the question being asked in Memphis, the nation, and the world is whether - with the increasing militancy of black youth - anyone can say with certainty that a non-violent demonstration will stay that way.

King stated in the interview, "I am convinced we can have a non-violent demonstration" but was reported as adding that it would be impossible to "guarantee" that

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there would not be any violence. The story stated that it was significant that King was more than a half hour late for his 11:30 A.M. press conference because he was meeting with three members of a Black Power group, which the paper referred to as "The Invaders." BeVier stated that these three young men refused to give their names and stated that they would give their own press conference at a later time.

The story continued that King was staying in a \$29 a day room at the Holiday Inn Rivermont, also known as the Rivermont Hotel. King claimed to the newspaper that he did not realize when he came to Memphis that there were those in the Negro community who were "talking about violence." He stated, "We (SCLC) had no part in the planning of the march. Our intelligence was nil." He said that if he had known there were persons likely to start violence, he would have had them made parade marshals, a move which he said had been successful in other marches.

He was reported as being critical of the press for reporting that he left the march in haste after the trouble started on March 28, 1968. He claimed that he left calmly because he said, "I will not lead a violent march." He said that while he "walked" with aides to a car, he was "agonizing over what had happened." The story reported that Assistant Police Chief Henry Lux had earlier said over the police radio at approximately 11:27 A.M., Thursday, March 28, 1968, that the march was apparently without leadership as Dr. King had asked for a police escort away from the march a few minutes after the first report of violence during the march. King was reported in the story as saying he did not think the riot "will in any way affect" his Washington plans for his Poor People's Crusade to commence April 22, 1968. He said he is undecided as to how much of his SCLC staff he can spare to organize the next massive march in Memphis early in April 1968.

The story said that later in Washington, D. C., Rev. Andrew Young, Dr. King's top lieutenant, said that the main thrust of the Washington demonstration would be delayed for about two weeks and that steps would be taken to avoid violence and that a "symbolic delegation," including King would reach Washington on April 22, 1968. The story continued

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that King claimed that Thursday, March 28, 1968, march was "poorly planned" which the paper said amounts to criticism of Rev. James M. Lawson, Jr., whom Dr. King himself had called "the leading non-violence theoretician in the country." The paper reported that Lawson is in charge of the strategy for the Memphis Negro ministers, also known as COME, and is pastor of the Centenary Methodist Church and continued that Lawson did not entirely agree with King's assessments.

The story stated for instance that King had said that the Black Power advocates with whom he met earlier had said that there had been a lack of communication between them and the ministers and that they felt "rejected." Rev. Lawson was quoted by the paper as saying, "There has been communication. I don't accept that," referring to King's statement. The paper said that it was Rev. Lawson who had originally asked King to come to Memphis and that for about 10 years Lawson has served in an advisory capacity with SCLC. It stated that Lawson agreed with King that a non-violent demonstration is possible and pointed out that this was one of the reasons King was asked to come to Memphis. Lawson stated, "We didn't bring in Rap Brown (national chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee), we brought in King." He was reported to have further said that there were other reasons for bringing in King, one being to give the movement in Memphis a "national image" and another was to strengthen the leadership of the Memphis ministers.

The same March 30, 1968, issue of The Commercial Appeal newspaper had a lead editorial on page 6 entitled, "King's Credibility Gap," which stated that "Martin Luther King on the night of March 18, 1968, told an overflow crowd at Mason Temple: 'You know what? We may have to escalate this struggle a bit.' Dr. King then urged a total work stoppage in Memphis by Negroes 'in a few days' and called for all Negro public school students to cut classes at the same time. 'Try it and they will hear you,' said Dr. King. The escalation came Thursday when Dr. King led a supposedly non-violent protest march from Clayborn Temple to Beale Street, west on Beale to Main, and a block north on Main. He got what he asked - to an embarrassing extent. Negro students did play truant by the thousands and were joined by hundreds of other young Negroes in their 20's who turned the march into a riot and left Beale Street and a short section of Main in utter ruin. Photographs and eyewitness accounts identify those who did the destruction and the looting - the children and young people whom Dr. King had told to stay out of school. Having fled the melee, King later issued statements attempting to disassociate himself from the violence that he

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had instigated. The claim will not hold water. Dr. King's pose as leader of a non-violent movement has been shattered. He now has the entire nation doubting his word when he insists that his April project - a shanty-town sit-in in the nation's capital - can be peaceful. In short, Dr. King is suffering from one of those awesome credibility gaps. Furthermore, he wrecked his reputation as a leader as he took off at high speed when violence occurred, instead of trying to use his persuasive prestige to stop it.

"There are many other second thoughts about the Beale Street incident of Thursday. More and more it is evident that Memphis police were well prepared, alert and firm when firmness was vital. What might have spread into far reaches of the city was blocked within minutes.

"The city administration with the help of the legislature and Gov. Buford Ellington got a curfew law which effectively restored general calm and peace.

"As always, there is another side to the coin. Memphis Negroes do need broader participation in Memphis government, and better job opportunities in our city. The sanitation strike, which has been the takeoff point for trouble-making, must be settled soon.

"Mediation and conciliation in the strike have been attempted without significant results. Obstinacy and stubborn position-taking will not lead to a settlement. There must be give-and-take.

"It would help if the Negro church ministers who have more or less taken over the cause of the sanitation employees would get them back to work. Then mediation might be attempted in a more reasonable atmosphere.

"The city should shut no doors. It, too, must mediate, if the issue is to be settled without further damage to Memphis."

In connection with the above mentioned Commercial Appeal story with reference to "The Invaders," source 1 who is extremely close to the leadership of the Black Power movement in Memphis, advised that this group technically

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is known as the Black Organizing Project (BOP) and is affiliated with Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), which has national headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia. It is led by John Burrell Smith and Charles Cabbage.

In connection with another investigation conducted February 16, 1968, Charles L. Cabbage and John Burrell Smith introduced themselves to representatives of the FBI and introduced the governing body of the BOP organization as Charles Laverne Cabbage, 1924 Rile; John Burrell Smith, 1644 Hanauer, Apartment 2, Owen College student; Curtis Carter, LeMoyne College student, residence 377 E. McLemore; Charles Steven Ballard, 1830 Kansas Street, a student at Owen Junior College; Edwina Jeanetta Harrell, residence 2418 Gentry, Memphis State University student; Verdell Ronald Brooks, Owen College student, residence 1512 Ball Street; James Elmore Phillips, 1592 Short, student at LeMoyne College; Clinton Roy Jamerson, 1397 Davis Street; Charles Harrington, 2075 Rile, a student at Owen College; and they mentioned an additional person who was not present, namely Clifford Louis Taylor, 2507 Fontaine, Memphis.

Cabbage and John Smith advised that some of their followers wear the words "The Invaders" on their jackets and John Smith stated that he personally wears these words on his jacket but that this is merely a name which some of them have adopted and that it is all part of the BOP organization.

As recently as March 30, 1968, source 1 stated that many teenagers in Memphis have put the word "Invaders" on backs of their jackets, although they are not necessarily connected with the BOP organization. They do this more or less as a symbol of their self-professed affinity with Black Power. Source 1 pointed out therefore that the mere fact that one wears the word "Invaders" does not mean that he is a part of any organized movement, that the only known organized Black Power movement in Memphis is that of BOP headed by Cabbage and John B. Smith and the above mentioned governing body. He pointed that, for example, at LeMoyne College their group is known as BOP, at Owen College it is known as the Afro-American Brotherhood and at Memphis State University, which has approximately 1500 Negro students, it is known as the Black Student Association (BSA).

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Source 1 was not certain as to the 3 individuals who met with King but believes that they were Charles L. Cabbage, Charles Harrington, and a young male Negro in his early twenties, light skinned, with a "dog type" face, clean features, Afro hairdo, about 5'9" to 5'10" tall, slender, and who had introduced himself earlier in the summer of 1967 as Miller. These 3 shortly prior to the time that King interviewed Black Power people had attempted to gain an audience but Dr. H. Ralph Jackson, head of the Minimum Salary Division of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, A.M.E. Church, 274 Hernando, next door to Clayborn Temple, 280 Hernando, which has been the headquarters of the strike supporters since February 12, 1968. Cabbage was insistent on seeing Ralph Jackson and that Jackson's assistant, a Rev. Johnson, refused to allow him to see Jackson stating that Jackson was completely "fed up" with Cabbage and his Black Power associates, that Jackson originally had attempted to have rapport and communication with them and had even offered to get them financial support out of New York City but that after the ruckus started on March 28, 1968, Cabbage, John B. Smith, and their associates came back to the temple after the ministers had attempted to get the marchers to return and virtually took over the temple, took over the microphone, and would not cease and dismiss when some of the ministers asked them to do so.

Therefore, Jackson's assistant Rev. Johnson, who lives at 5183 Horn Lake Road, refused to take them to see Dr. Jackson.

Source 1 pointed out that since around March 1, 1968, the BOP group headed by Cabbage and Smith has been in close contact with the sanitation strike and had been working in cooperation with the COME group that Rev. Lawson and Dr. Jackson, the two prime leaders of the COME group, have allowed them to attend strategy meetings and have met with them on numerous occasions. In fact, source 1 pointed out it is significant that a mass strike support meeting was held at Clayborn Temple, 280 Hernando on the night of March 5, 1968, attended by some 500 to 600 individuals and that one of the main speakers and masters of ceremony was Rev. James Morris Lawson, Jr., and at this mass meeting Charles Laverne Cabbage and some 30 to 40 of his purported followers were openly and with the consent of the ministers

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in charge of the meeting, passing out a 5 page mimeographed pamphlet entitled, "Afro-American Brotherhood Speaks, Black Thesis, Black Power!!" which eulogized H. Rap Brown, national chairman of SNCC. A portion of this document stated that the civil rights tactics of 1963 are not sufficient in the form of pressure on political structures and in dealing with what it referred to as extreme violent reaction of city powers in this community. It claimed that the so-called self-appointed part-time civil rights and part-time preachers inevitably "quit the struggle too soon." It said that "civil disobedience implies an entirely new set of priorities and responsibilities of which the current Negro leadership could no longer accept." It claimed that the current strike support movement in Memphis had turned into a big revival with the preachers having the followers so busy singing, praying, and marching that they do not do anything about the real issues. It asked the question, "Why has the community let the preachers take over and try to lead in a fight which? There must be some real fighting. We all know the preachers can't fight or won't fight." It then printed a letter dated March 21, 1968, from Parish Prison, New Orleans, Louisiana, from H. Rap Brown in which he said, "We must move from resistance to aggression, from revolt to revolution. For every Orangeburg there must be 10 Detroit's. For every Max Stanford and Huey Newton, there must be 10 dead racist cops. And for every black death there must be a Dien Bien Phu." It continued, "Aggression is the order of the day" and concluded "America: If it takes my death to organize my people against you, and to organize your jails to revolt against you and God, your poor, your country, and to organize mankind to rejoice in your destruction and ruin, then here is my life."

Following this was a detailed drawing captioned "Molotov cocktail" showing in detail how a Molotov cocktail can be made by inserting a plain rag into the neck of a bottle which contains gasoline with a base of dirt or washing powder. Source 1 pointed out that none of the ministers present at this meeting made any effort whatsoever to restrain Cabbage and his followers from distributing this material nor did any of them make any statements to the audience that they should ignore such material.

On March 30, 1968, a second source advised that he had reliably learned that the 3 so-called "Invaders" who were reported in the Commercial Appeal as having

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had an audience with Martin Luther King, Jr., on the morning of March 29, 1968, were the hereinbefore identified Charles Laverne Cabbage, the hereinbefore identified Charles Harrington, and Calvin Leroy Taylor, a male Negro who resides at 347 West Waldorf and who is a senior at Memphis State University. Taylor works part-time as a copy boy at the Commercial Appeal newspaper. Taylor has recently told source 2 that he is a part of the BOP group, which is affiliated with SNCC and that he has been serving as a liaison representative of BOP with the COME group, with the Negro ministerial group, which is coordinating the strike support. Taylor further stated that when Harrington, Cabbage, and Taylor had an audience with King that their purpose in seeing King was to tell King that they wanted more of the "action" in Memphis feeling that they were not getting enough of the action. Taylor refused to elaborate but source 2 conjectured that by this Taylor meant that the Black Power group wanted more of a position of leadership and more policy making position in the over-all Negro movement in Memphis.

Source 2 also advised that the newsmen in Memphis and other officials will interchangeably use the word "Invaders" when they are actually referring to BOP and pointed out that it had been ascertained that actually the Black Power movement in Memphis uses several names, such as Afro-American Brotherhood, Black Student Association, BOP, and Invaders and that Taylor has told him confidentially that actually there are only about 12 to 15 hard-core BOP people in Memphis and that the others are merely followers or people who tend to imitate them. Source 2 also stated that he had reliably learned from several individuals who in the March 28, 1968, march when the trouble began, that the actual BOP people did not participate in any of the vandalism or looting although prior to the meeting several of them, exact identities not known to source 2, had been agitating the young high school age Negroes who were preparing to participate in the march by indicating that there should be trouble and that Memphis was not worth saving and that it should burn, and other inflammatory utterances to this effect.

On the afternoon of March 29, 1968, a third source advised that Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., President, SCLC, Bernard Lee, Special Aide to King, and Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy, Vice President at Large, SCLC, all departed Memphis, Tennessee, aboard an Eastern Airlines flight 398

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at 3:20 P.M. CST, March 29, 1968, their destination being Atlanta, Georgia. This source stated that to the best of his knowledge they went directly from the Rivermont Hotel to the Memphis Metropolitan Airport.

Source 1 on March 30, 1968, recalled that Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., obviously would have been aware of the presence of a militant Black Power group in Memphis and based this opinion on the following information:

King in his March 18, 1968, speech before the strike supporters at Mason Temple had urged all high school students to remain away from school to participate in the massive march which he planned to lead in the future and urged all workers in Memphis to stay away from their jobs and march and at no time did he call for a completely non-violent march. Source further recalled that James Bevel, who for several years has been on King's staff and who was last known by source 1 to have the title of "in charge of non-violent action," was in Memphis with King's party on March 18, 1968, and remained in Memphis until at least March 20, 1968. Source 1 recalled that on March 20, 1968, Bevel along with Rev. Harold Middlebrook of 257 Walker, a former member of King's staff in Atlanta and now a resident of Memphis and one of the leaders of the COME group appeared at LeMoyne College, a Negro institution of some 600 students in Memphis, being brought there by James Phillips and Clinton Roy Jamerson, members of the governing body of BOP. There Bevel and Middlebrook met with various LeMoyne students at the student center at noon on March 20, 1968, meeting with approximately 75 to 100 students. Bevel was the main speaker and gave what informant described as a virulent Black Power talk claiming that the white power structure through economic pressure will eventually attempt to exterminate the Negro in the United States in some form of genocide and pointed out that the United States in its foreign aid program has proven that it is a white supremacist country in that it gives more to white nations in the form of foreign aid than it does to black countries such as those making up the continent of Africa. Bevel further claimed, according to source 1, that while Negroes or black men as he referred to them welcome the support given by the white clergy and white "do-gooders" that these whites are not really sincere as they have no "real soul feeling" toward the Negro and he suggested that his listeners read several Black Revolutionary books, and particularly urged them to read the book entitled, "The Wretched of the Earth" by Frantz Fanon, which informant

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described as a bible to revolutionary and militant Negro activities.

Source 1 stated that he personally knew that John B. Smith of BOP, along with Charles Harrington and Verdell Brooks of BOP and a new supporter of the group, one Milton Mack and another BOP member Samuel Carter, were all present with Middlebrook and Bevel at this meeting. Bevel urged all of these listeners to actively participate in the future scheduled march to be led by Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. Furthermore, at this meeting John B. Smith and his followers stated that they were canvassing all of the Negro high schools with leaflets urging a mass walkout at the schools and urging that these walking students participate in the sanitation workers sympathy march to be led by King. On leaving LeMoyne Middlebrook and Bevel stated that they also planned to canvass Memphis State University, Southwestern College, Christian Brothers College, and Owen Junior College, all institutions of higher learning in Memphis, Tennessee, in order to solicit support, not only for their organization but also for the proposed mass march to be led by King. John B. Smith bragged to Bevel that his BOP group had also organized at most of the colleges in Memphis.

Source 1 recalled also that Bevel at the LeMoyne meeting urged the students to read "Muhammad Speaks," official newspaper of the Nation of Islam (NOI), headed in Chicago, Illinois, by Elijah Muhammad, pointing out that much of Muhammad's program fits his concept of Black Power philosophy with the exception of the religious aspect whereby Muhammad claimed Allah as his god. He told students to ignore the religious aspects and merely follow the economic and political aspects propounded in Muhammad's program. Bevel also bragged that within the next year he hopes to form a new nationwide Black Power organization in the United States which would supersede SNCC and would take in the remnants of the varied uncoordinated Black Power groups now existing in the United States and wanted to build a united black front effort having tentacles in all major communities in the United States. Source 1 pointed out that Bevel, will an ordained minister, was extremely vulgar and obscene in his talk and shocked some of the women who were present resulting in some of the women leaving the meeting.

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Source 1 pointed out that Middlebrook definitely is very close to the SCLC, Bevel, and Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. He stated that Bevel is a most effective speaker particularly with regard to influencing young people and that in his talk he preyed on their feelings of avarice and envy claiming that the white man would purposely not allow them to have enough of the economic goods of this country and that the black man must learn to assume power, to control property, and to control raw materials and to utilize his talents.

JAMES BEVEL

Bevel, in early March 1966 was observed to be present at the offices of the Westside W.E.B. DuBois Club in Chicago (DCA). Discussion took place at this time centering around reaction to a recent notification that the Attorney General of the United States intended to label the DuBois Club as a communist front. Bevel, in conversation, stated that he would have ignored this notification and kept about the work in which he was engaged. He felt that if the DuBois Clubs have a real program of help for the people, then the people would answer for the clubs despite any labels applied to them.

Most present agreed that the attack on the DuBois Clubs was a part of the plan by the "establishment" to undermine the civil rights movement. They felt that the recent hearings into Klan activities in this country were only a beginning which would lead to a full scale attack on the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), the real target. One of those present stated during the course of this discussion that he was not a communist, and to this Bevel was overheard to reply that every thinking American should be. Bevel stated that Negroes have not begun to read yet, but when they do, they will be socialists.

(Source 4, 3/66)

(A characterization of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America and the Nation of Islam are set forth in the appendix section of this communication.)

SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

The foregoing information was furnished orally to a representative of the Inspectional Bureau of the Memphis, Tennessee, Police Department and to a representative of the Intelligence Corps, Third Army, both Memphis, Tennessee, on March 30, 1968.

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W. E. B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA (DCA)

A source advised that on October 26-27, 1963, a conference of members of the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), including national functionaries, met in Chicago, Illinois, for the purpose of setting in motion forces for the establishment of a new national Marxist-oriented youth organization which would hunt for the most peaceful transition to socialism. The delegates were told that it would be reasonable to assume that the young socialists attracted into this new organization would eventually pass into the CP itself.

A second source has advised that the founding convention for the new youth organization was held from June 19-21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the name W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) was adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention.

The second source advised in September, 1966, that Mike Zagarell, CPUSA Youth Director, stated that in Negro communities the Party still supported the plan to build "left" socialist centers and to solidify the Party base through the DCA. This source also advised in September, 1966, that Daniel Rubin, CPUSA National Organizational Secretary, stated the Party believes the DCA should have a working-class outlook and be a mass organization favorable to socialism, socialist countries and Marxism, and in April, 1967, advised that Gus Hall, CPUSA General Secretary, indicated the DCA primary emphasis should be on developing mass resistance to the draft.

A third source advised in September, 1967, that Jarvis Tyner was elected chairman of the DCA on September 10, 1967, at the Third National Convention of the DCA held in New York, New York, from September 8-10, 1967.

A fourth source advised during August, 1967, that Jarvis Tyner is a member of the National Committee of the CPUSA.

A fifth source advised on September 21, 1967, that the headquarters of the DCA is located at 34 West 17th Street, New York, New York.

NATION OF ISLAM
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

A source advised on May 22, 1967, that a Memphis, Tennessee, affiliate or mosque of the Nation of Islam, the national headquarters of which is located in Chicago, Illinois, was formed in Memphis, Tennessee, in late July or early August, 1959, and has continued to operate in Memphis since that time.

This organization, also known as Muhammad's Mosque, is formally affiliated with the national organization and follows its teachings and programs.

Its active membership is estimated at 15 members. Regular study classes and sermons are conducted for members and prospective members in the Memphis mosque.



*In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.*

**UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**

**Memphis, Tennessee
March 30, 1968**

**Title SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE
 MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE**

Character RACIAL MATTERS

**Reference Memorandum prepared at
 Memphis, Tennessee, dated
 and captioned as above**

**All sources (except any listed below) whose identities
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable
information in the past.**

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